

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BUDAPE 02747 01 OF 02 131442Z

43

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 2747

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, HU, XH

SUBJ: DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER NAGY ON HELSINKI

1. SUMMARY: TARSADALMI SZEMLE, IDEOLOGICAL/THEORETICAL JOURNAL OF HWSP, IN ITS JULY ISSUE CARRIES LENGTHY ARTICLE BY DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER JANOS NAGY, ENTITLED "ONE YEAR AFTER HELSINKI". NAGY IS RANKING FOREIGN OFFICE OFFICIAL IN CHARGE OF COORDINATING CSCE MATTERS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, SIGNATORIES TO FINAL DOCUMENT AT HELSINKI. NAGY EVALUATES STEPS TAKEN BY EAST AND WEST TO IMPLEMENT HELSINKI ACCORD, CALLS FOR FULLER WESTERN MEASURES IN SPECIFIC AREAS, CRITICIZES RFE AND WESTERN TACTICS RE BAKDET III, HINTS AT FURTHER STEPS HUNGARY MAY BE WILLING TO TAKE TO IMPLEMENT HELSINKI DECLARATION, AND CALLS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION RATHER THAN RECRIMINATION AT 1977 BELGRADE CSCE REVIEW. FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF

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PAGE 02 BUDAPE 02747 01 OF 02 131442Z

TARSADALMI SZEMLE ARTICLE. END SUMMARY.

2. ON EVE OF FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF SIGNING OF HELSINKI DOCUMENT, IT IS WORTHWHILE TO LOOK AT PROGRESS ACHIEVED SO FAR AND FROM THIS TO DRAW CERTAIN CONCLUSIONS RE MAIN TREND OF FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS. WE HAVE GOOD REASON TO BELIEVE THAT CHANGE IN INTERNATIONAL POWER RELATIONS IN FAVOR OF SOCIALISM AND PEACE-LOVING FORCES WILL CONTINUE AND THAT THIS IS FIRM FOUNDATION FOR INSURING THAT DETENTE IS IRREVERSIBLE.

3. MACHINATIONS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF WORLD, HOWEVER, TO UNDERMINE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS DEMAND CONSTANT ATTENTION BECAUSE THESE ACTIONS AMY AFFECT CAUSE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY TO A MUCH GREATER EXTENT THAN NOW. DISPUTES RE POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IN U.S. AND OTHER ADVANCED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES HAVE INTENSIFIED BECAUSE OPPONENTS OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY FEAR DETENTE AND WISH TO RETURN TO COLD WAR. THEY CLAIM THAT DETENTE IS A "TRAP" DESIGNED TO SECURE UNILATERAL ADVANTAGES TO SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. DESPITE SUCH INCREASED ACTIVITY BY CIRCLES INTERESTED IN CONTINUATION OF ARMS RACE, EVERYTHING CONSIDERED, IT IS OUR EXPECTATION THAT IN U.S. AND FRG FORCES INCLINED TO ACCEPT REALITIES WILL CONTINUE TO ASSERT THEIR POLICIES EVEN AFTER ELECTIONS.

4. HELSINKI CONFERENCE CONFIRMED POLITICAL AND TERRITORIAL REALITIES IN EUROPE AND SUMMED UP ALL RESULTS ACHIEVED IN TRANSLATING INTO PRACTICE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. OBVIOUSLY, FINAL HILSINKI DOCUMENT IS A LONG-RANGE ACTION PROGRAM; ITS REALIZATION IS A TAKS NOT SIMPLY FOR MONTHS BUT FOR YEARS OR EVEN DECADES. NO ONE EXPECTED PROBLEMS TO BE RESOLVED OVERNIGHT.

5. NAGY GOES ON TO SAY THAT WHILE EXAMINATION OF PROGRESS TO DATE REVEALS PREDOMINANCE OF POSITIVE ELEMENTS, THERE ARE NEGATIVE MANIFESTATIONS ON PART OF CERTAIN WESTERN COUNTRIES. BY WAY OF EXAMPLE HE SAYS SOME MEMBERS OF NATO AND COMMON MARKET, UNLIKE OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES, WISH TO BE SELECTIVE RE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 BUDAPE 02747 01 OF 02 131442Z

PROVISIONS OF FINAL DOCUMENT, EMPHASIIZING ONLY CERTAIN POINTS IN TEXT, PASSING OVER OTHER VERY IMPORTANT ONES IN SILENCE, AND REPLYING TO PROPOSALS MADE BY SOCIALIST COUNTRIES BY RESORTING TO EVASIONS. SUCH AN ATTITUDE, HE DECLARES, CANNOT BE CONSIDERED AN EFFORT TO FULFILL FINAL DOCUMENT IN GOOD FAITH.

6. MASS MEDIA OF CAPITALIST COUNTIRES -- AND EVEN

OFFICIAL PERSONALITIES -- ARE RAISING MORE AND MORE FREQUENTLY QUESTION OF IDEOLOGICAL WARFARE. THEY EXHORT US TO ACCEPT SOME SORT OF "IDEOLOGICAL PEACE" WHILE THEY THEMSELVES STEP UP IDEOLOGICAL WARFARE AGAINST US. THEY LABEL SOLIDARITY OF SOCIALIST COUNTURES WITH PEOPLES FIGHTING FOR THEIR FREEDOM AS VIOLATIONS OF FINAL DOCUMENT BUT REGARD SUPPORT OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION AS COMPATIBLE WITH CSCE.

7. NAGY COMPLAINS ABOUT LIMITED DISTRIBUTION IN WESTERN COUNTRIES OF COMPLETE TEXT OF FINAL HELSINKI DOCUMENT, COMMENTING THAT 20 MILLION COPIES WERE SOLD IN THE USSR AND ABOUT 100,000 EVEN IN SMALL SOCIALIST COUNTRY LIKE HUNGARY. HE SAYS THAT REVIEWS AND INTERPRETATIONS CENSORING SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE APPEARED ON A MASSIVE SCALE BUT BOURGEOIS PAPERS OR PERIODICALS PRINTING FULL TEXT OF HELSINKI DOCUMENT ARE FEW AND FAR BETWEEN. HE CONCLUDES THAT PUBLIC OPINION IN WESTERN COUNTRIES DOES NOT KNOW WHAT IN FACT FINAL DOCUMENT CONTAINS OR WHAT WAS AGREED ON IN HELSINKI.

8. NAGY ASSERTS THAT HUNGARY IN A NUMBER OF AREAS HAS EXCEEDED FRAMEWORK OF HELSINKI DOCUMENT IN TAKING INITIATIVE IN INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS. IN PAST YEAR, HATDECLARES, HUNGARY HAS CONDUCTED VISITS AT PRIME MINISTER, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, AND FOREIGN MINISTER LEVELS WITH 15 WESTERN EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES AND MEETINGS OF MEMBERS OF GOVERNMENT AND EXCHANGES OF VIEWS BETWEEN FOREIGN MINISTERS HAVE BECOME MORE FREQUENT. LAST MARCH GOH ADDOPTED A RESOLUTION CHARTING MAIN TREND OF IMPLEMENTATION AND CITING CONCRETE TASKS. FRAMEWORK OF IMPLEMENTATION IS DETERMINED FIRST OF ALL BY HUNGARY'S BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH PROGRESS ON LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 04 BUDAPE 02747 01 OF 02 131442Z

THIS ROAD BEST ACHIEVED THROUGH RECIPROCITY. WE ARE READY TO START TALKS WITH THIS IN VIEW WITH EVERY WESTERN CAPITALIST COUNTRY, NAGY DECLARES, AND TO REACH AGREEMENT ON CONCRETE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE IN YOUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. WE HOPE, HE SAID, WESTERN COUNTRIES WILL DO THE SAME.

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PAGE 01 BUDAPE 02747 02 OF 02 130952Z

43

ACTION EUR-12

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 BUDAPEST 2747

9. NAGY THEN CHARGES THAT WESTERN INTERVENTION IN PORTUGAL COASTS A SHADOW ON FULL ASSERTION OF PRINCIPLES OF NON-INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. HE ATTACKS U.S. AND FRG FOR THEIR ROLE IN RFE, LABELING EXISTENCE AND ACTIVITY OF THIS IPERATION AS "FLAGRANT AND OPEN INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES". NAGY CRITICIZES NINE MEMBER NATIONS OF COMMON MARKET FOR FAILURE TO REDUCE WHAT HE CALLS "DISCRIMINATORY QUANTITATIVE RESTRICTIONS AGAINST HUNGARY CONTRARY TO PROVISIONS OF GATT" AND FOR FAILURE TO TERMINATE SUCH RESTRICTIONS GRADUALLY.

10. NAGY HAS PRAISE FOR PROGRESS IN CARRYING INTO EFFECT CBM'S RECOMMENDED IN HELSINKI DOCUMENT AND NOTES THAT GOH GAVE PRIOR NOTICE OF A MILITARY EXERCISE, SIZE OF WHICH WAS WELL BELOW THRESHOLD FIXED IN FINAL DOCUMENT.

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PAGE 02 BUDAPE 02747 02 OF 02 130952Z

HE POINTS OUT THAT SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE ENTERED INTO A NUMBER OF NEW AGREEMENTS WITH CAPITALIST COUNTRIES AND THAT THE BASES OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION BY AGREEMENT HAVE PARTLY EXPANDED. AT SAME TIME, HOWEVER, HE CLAIMS AREAS

OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION HAVE BEEN NARROWED BY REFUSAL OF COMMON MARKET COUNTRIES TO MAKE BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WITH HUNGARY.

11. CHAPTER OF FINAL DOCUMENT OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION,

SAYS NAGY, OFFERS GOOD OPPORTUNITIES FOR MULTILATERAL COOPERATION AND SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE TAKEN INITIATIVE IN THIS FIELD. HE CLAIMS THAT SOCIALIST COUNTRIES' PROPOSAL RE AGREEMENT BETWEEN CEMA AND COMMON MARKET HAS BEEN FOLLOWED WITH GREAT INTEREST AS HAS SOVIET INITIATIVE FOR HOLDIN ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ON ENERGY, ENVIRONMEN, AND COMMUNICATIONS. NOTING THAT RECENTLY ECE CAME OUT IN FAVOR OF EXAMINING PREPARATION FOR THESE CONFERENCES, NAGY SAYS IT IS IMPORTANT TO SPEED UP THE CALLING OF THESE CONFERENCES AND TO DETERMINE CONCRETE TASKS CONNECTED WITH THEM.

12. NAGY HAS SOME SHARP CRITICISM FOR WESTERN ATTITUDE RE COOPERATION IN CULTURAL AND HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS AND EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION. HE CHARGES THAT WESTERN COUNTRIES PICK AND CHOOSE EVEN IN "THIRD BASKET". THEY PRESS ONLY FOR IMMIGRATION, UNITING OF FAMILIES, AND DISTRIBUTION OF WESTERN BOURGEOIS PRESS, EXAGGERATING OUT OF ALL PROPORTION SIGNIFICANCE FOR REALIZATION OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. SUCH IDEAS, HE ASSERTS, MAKE CONSTRUCTIVE REALIZATION OF THIS PART OF FINAL DOCUMENT MORE DIFFICULT.

13. NAGY MAKES A STRONG EFFORT TO UNDERSCORE HUNGARY'S PERFORMANCE IN SPEEDING UP PROCESS OF CONTACTS BETWEEN SOCIALIST AND CAPITALIST COUNTRIES. HE SAYS THAT LEADING GOH BODIES HAVE STRESSED MUTUAL FULFILLMENT OF AGREEMENTS ON HUMANITARIAN MATTERS AND STATES CATEGORICALLY THAT THERE IS "NOT A SINGLE ITEM IN THIS OR ANY OTHER PART OF FINAL DOCUMENT WHERE WE HAVE NOT BEEN AS GOOD AS OUR WORK". IN HUNGARY, HE SAYS, TRAVEL, IMMIGRATION, AND UNIFICATION OF FAMILIES ARE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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PAGE 03 BUDAPE 02747 02 OF 02 130952Z

ADMINISTERED ACCORDING TO HUNGARIAN LAW WITH FULL REGARD FOR HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS AND FULL SATISFACTION OF GREAT MAJORITY OF PEOPLE CONCERNED. HE CONCLUDES THAT DESIRES OF SOME PEOPEL ARE CONTRARY TO HUNGARIAN STATUTORY PROVISIONS BUT ARGUES THAT IF WESTERN COUNTRIES EXPECT HUNGARY TO HAVE SYMPATHY WITH THEIR IMMIGRATION, RESIDENCE, LABOR AND NATIONALITY LAWS, HUNGARY HAS RIGHT TO DEMAND SAME RESPECT FOR ITS LAWS.

14. NAGY ADVIANCES THE BY-NOW WELL-FRAYED SOCIALIST COUNTRIES' ARGUMENT REGARDING DISPORPORTION IN CULTURAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN SOCIALIST AND CAPITALIST COUNTRIES.

HE SAYS THAT SOCIALIST STATES MEET DEMAND FOR OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF WESTERN CULTURE IN MANY WAYS AND AT CONSIDERABLE EXPENSE BUT CLAIMS THAT HUNGARIAN CULTURE, PARTICULARLY TRANSLATION OF LITERATURE, THEATER AND FILM ART, ARE FAR FROM ENJOYING SUCH A POSITION IN MOST WESTERN COUNTRIES. HE URGES AUTHORITIES IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES TO INTENSIVELY POPULARIZE HUNGARIAN CULTURE AND TO PROVIDE GREATER FINANCIAL SUPPORT. HE ASSERTS THAT ARGUMENT CANNOT BE ACCEPTED THAT IN WESTERN COUNTRIES THIS IS NOT A GOVERNMENT BUT RATHER A BUSINESS ENTERPRISE.

15. NAGY MAKES A PLEA FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO 1977 BELGRADE MEETINGS, EXPRESSING HOPE THAT MEETINGS WILL NOT DEGENERATE INTO RECRIMINATION AND MUTUAL MUDSLINGING. RATHER, HE SAYS, THEY SHOULD DEAL WITH EVALUATION OF PROGRESS MADE AND WITH NEW PROPOSALS FOR STABILIZING SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. HE CONCLUDES BY DECLARING THAT DEEPENING OF DETENTE PROCESS POSES THREE MAIN TASKS: (1) FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL HELSINKI DOCUMENT; (2) COMPLEMENTING POLITICAL DETENTE WITH MILITARY DETENTE; AND (3) DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIALIST AND CAPITALIST COUNTRIES. DESPITE ACTIONS OF CERTAIN WESTERN CIRCLES IN RECENT MONTHS TO OBSTRUCT REALIZATION OF THESE TASKS, NAGY PROCLAIMS THAT "WE ARE OPTIMISTIC THWAT EVEN IN FACE OF SUCH UNDERMINING WORK OF THESE NOT NEGLIGIBLE FORCES, PROGRESS TOWARDS DETENTE WILL CONTINUE".

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PAGE 04 BUDAPE 02747 02 OF 02 130952Z

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